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P R 181515Z JAN 78 FM AMEMBASCY LAGOS TO SECSTATE WACHDC PR2ORITY 6004 INFO AMCONSUL IBADAN AMCONSUL KADUNA

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E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS NI AMGT SUBJECT: US GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN NIGERIA: METHODOLOGY, DEFINITONS AND LOGIC STRUCTURE

REF: (A) 77 STATE 295545, (B) 77 STATE 291277

- 1. WE HAVE METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS WITH REFTELS.
- 2. REFTEL A SENT US PROPOSED 'GOALS AND OBJECTIVES' FOR US POLICY IN NIGERIA. REFTEL B REFERRED TO THESE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES AS REPRESENTING 'THE PRINCIPAL POLICY AIMS' OF THE US WITH REGARD TO NIGERIA REFTEL B SOLICITED RECOMMENDED CHANGES BY JANUARY 15. REFTEL B FURTHER REQUESTED, BY FEBRUARY 15, A STATEMENT ON THE 'BROAD APPROACHES' WE INTEND TO FOLLOW IN THE PURSUIT OF OUR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES. OUR FEBRUARY 15 SUBMISSION WAS ALSO TO INCLUDE KEY POLICY ISSUES AND RECOMMENDED COURSES OF ACTION TO ACCOMPLISH OUR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES.
- 3. PREVIOUS EFFORTS TO SYSTEMATIZE THE LINKAGE OF RESOURCES WITH POLICY OBJECTIVES (E.G. CASP, PARA, CONFIDENTIAL

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PARM, EYC.) HAVE RELIED HEAVILY ON DEPARTMENT-SUPPLIED DEFINITIONS OF THE TERMINOLOGY TO BE UTILIZED IN THE EXERCISE, E.G., INTERESTS, GOALS, OBJECTIVES, COURSES OF ACTION, ETC. WE ARE STRUCK BY THE FACT THAT THE PRESENT EFFORT TO LINK BUDGET AND POLICY SEEMS LARGELY DEVOID OF SUCH DEFINITIONS. APPARENTLY WORKING WITHOUT METHODOLOGICAL GUIDANCE OR THE DISCIPLINE OF AN IMPOSED

LOGIC STRUCTURE, THE DRAFTERS OF RETEL A HAVE PRODUCED A MIXED BREW OF LONG-TERM INTERESTS, SHORT-TERM GOALS, COURSES OF ACTION BOTH BROAD AND SPECIFIC, POSTURES, AND EVEN STYLE. LABELLED AS A PRESENTATION OF 'GOALS AND OBJECTIVES,' REFTEL A IN FACT LOOKS MUCH MORE LIKE A SOMEWHAT DISORGANIZED RESPONSE TO REFTEL B. WE ACCEPT MOST OF THE SUBSTANCE OF REFTEL A; WE EVEN RECOGNIZE OUR OWN DRAFTING IN PORTIONS OF IT. BUT MUCH OF IT IS OUT OF ITS LOGICAL PLACE. WE WILL USE A LOT OF IT IN OUR RESPONSE TO REFTEL B.

4. OUR FIRST CONCERN, HOWEVER, IS TO DEFINE AND IDENTIFY OUR OBJECTIVES IN SUCH A WAY THAT OUR UPCOMING RESPONSE TO REFTL B DEMONSTRATES A LOGIC FLOW THAT LEADS CLEARLY AND CONVINCINGLY TO OUR RESOURCE ALLOCATION RECOMMENDATIONS. WE HAVE THEREFORE REFORMULATED REFTEL A'S 'GOALS AND OBJECTIVES,' IN THE PROCESS STRIPPING OUT THOSE ELEMENTS IN RETEL WHICH WE CONSIDER TO BE ILLOGICALLY LISTED AS GOALS. SUCH ITEMS, FOR EXAMPLE. AS FMS SALES OR RDP AGREEMENTS ARE NOT GOALS BUT RATHER PROGRAMS OR COURSES OF ACTION TO ACHIEVE GOALS. SIMILARLY, TO 'RECOGNIZE AND RESPECT NIGERIA'S DESIRE TO REMAIN TRULY NON-ALIGNED' IS NEITHER A GOAL NOR A COURSE OF ACTION BUT RATHER A POSTURE OR A STYLE DESIGNED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF GOALS, EXPRESSION OF APPROVAL OF STEPS TOWARD CIVILIAN CONFIDENTIAL.

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RULE IS NOT AN OBJECTIVE BUT RATHER A TECHNIQUE OR A DEVICE. WE VIEW GOALS AND OBJECTIVES AS NOUNS. COURSES OF ACTION ARE VERBS.

5. REFTEL'S ITEM VI, 'OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE,' PRESENTS SIMILAR METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS. WE FIND NO BASIC FAULT WITH NIGERIA'S CURRENT STANCE AND RECORD ON HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE. WE WOULD THUS VIEW 'OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS,' NOT AS AN OBJECTIVE AGAINST WHICH WE WOULD TARGET SELECTED RESOURCE ALLOCATIONS, BUT RATHER AS A BROAD INTEREST UNDERLYING ALL POLICY AND RESOURCE ALLOCATION. AS FOR 'RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE', WE DO NOT BELIEVE THIS IS IN ITSELF A PROPER OBJECTIVE OF US POLICY IN NIGERIA. WE PREFER OUR

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BROADER POSTULATION IN ITEM 7II BELOW.

6. WITH THE ABOVE LOGIC STRUCTURE IN MIND, WE ACCORDINGLY PUT FORWARD FOR THE DEPARTMENT'S CONSIDERATION THE LIST OF GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN PARAGRAPH 7 FOLLOWING. WE PROPOSE TO USE THIS FORMULATION AS THE FRAMEWORK CONDITIONING OUR RESPONSE TO REFTEL B - THAT IS, OUR DISCUSSION OF APPROACHES, POLICY ISSUES, COURSES OF ACTION, AND STATUS OF ACCOMPLISHMENT OF OBJECTIVES. MEANWHILE WE SUGGEST THAT THE DEPARTMENT CONSIDER THE MERITS OF SENDING ALL POSTS MORE PRECISE DEFINITIONAL AND METHODOLOGICAL GUIDANCE FOR THIS EXERCISE. WE BELIEV THAT, UNLESS SOME SUCH APPROACH IS ADOPTED, INDIVIDUAL SUBMISSIONS MAY BE INTERNALLY INCONSISTENT AND THERE WILL BE NO COMPARABILITY IN THE SUBMISSIONS FROM POST TO POST AND FROM REGION TO REGION.

7. GOALS AND OBJECTIVES OF U.S. POLICY IN NIGERIA

I. NIGERIAN UNDERSTANDING AND, IF POSSIBLE, SUPPORT OF U.S. PPLICIES ON MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES, CONFIDENTIAL

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PARTICULARLY THOSE INVOLVING AFRICAN) MATTERR

II. A NON-VIOLENT NIGERIAN SOCIETY BASED ON POPULAR CONSENT AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.
III. CONTINUED U.S. ACCESS TO NIGERIA'S PETROLEUM RESOURCES.

IV. A GREATER SHARE OF NIGERIA'S IMPORT AND INVESTMENT MARKET.

V. IMPORVED UNDERSTANDING OF AND RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE INCIPIENT EMERGING CIVILIAN POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT AND THE CURRENT POLITICO-MILITARY HIERARCHY. VI. NIGERIAN SUPPORT OF OR CONTRIBUTION TO INTRA-AFRICAN ORGANIZATION (E.G., OAU, ECOWAS, AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK) AND INITIATIVES (E.G. MEDIATION OF DISPUTES, SABEL DROUGHT RELIEF, TRAINING AND REFUGEE ASSISTANCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA) SO LONG AS THOSE ORGANIZATION AND INITIATIVES ARE CONSONANT WITH US INTERESTS. EASUM

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